

Message Text

SECRET

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APPROVED BY:MR. TARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 217589

NODIS

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

QFOLLOWING REPEAT AMMAN 6506, NODIS/CHEROKEE DTD 9/12/77.

QUOTE: S E C R E T AMMAN 6506

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PBOR, JO, IS, US, XF

SUBJECT: WEST BANK, PLO, AND JORDAN

REF: A) AMMAN 6436, B) TEL AVIV 6778

1. I HAVE A FEW COMMENTS TO OFFER ON SAM

LEWIS' FOLLOW-ON TALK WITH DAYAN.

2. KING HAS CHANGED HIS TRADITIONAL POSITION

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ON RECOVERY OF TERRITORY ON WEST BANK IF WHAT
DAYAN SAYS IS TRUE. IN PAST HE AND HIS CLOSEST
ADVISOR (THEN ZAID RIFAI) ALWAYS LET US KNOW
IF THEY COULD GET BACK WEST BANK WITH MINOR
RECTIFICATIONS THEY WOULD TAKE IT, AND DEAL AFTERWARD WITH
THE ARABS IN WHATEVER WAY THAT FORCED THEM
TO DO SO.

3. I DO NOT BELIEVE KING IS AS WORRIED ABOUT A FUTURE PALESTINIAN STATE AS DAYAN INDICATES. THIS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL ISRAELI POSITION, FED TO JOURNALISTS, AND WHICH IS NEARLY FIRST QUESTION THEY ASK WHEN THEY COME OVER HERE FROM WEST BANK. THE NEW ELEMENT IS OF COURSE THE U.S. POSITION ON THE PLO AND I AM STRUCK BY DAYAN'S EMPHASIS ON IDEA THAT HUSSEIN WOULD NOT TAKE BACK WEST BANK "AS LONG AS...U.S. CONTINUED TO TALK AS IF THE PLO WERE AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS." I FEEL HUSSEIN SHARES THIS CONCERN, BUT NOT TO THE POINT WHERE IT ACTS AS A STOP ON HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT BACK THE WEST BANK IN TACT OR VIRTUALLY SO.

4. HUSSEIN HAS ALSO NEVER EXHIBITED THE KIND OF FEAR OF A PALESTINIAN STATE POSTULATED BY DAYAN. IN PART PERHAPS BECAUSE HUSSEIN SAW ISRAEL AS HIS FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE AGAINST SUCH A DEVELOPMENT. IN PART ALSO BECAUSE HE REALLY BELIEVES EAST BANK PALESTINIANS ARE SATISFIED WITH THE REGIME AND THAT IN THE OLD DAYS JORDAN WAS ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM PALESTINIAN MACHINATIONS, EVEN WHEN SYRIA AND IRAQ BOTH PROMOTED SUCH. TODAY HE IS STRONGER INTERNALLY AND MILITARILY
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AND ANY PALESTINIAN STATE THAT MIGHT EXIST WOULD BE LITERALLY SURROUNDED BY JORDAN AND ISRAEL AND ALMOST CERTAINLY DEMILITARIZED.

5. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS APPARENT THAT DAYAN'S EMPHASIS ON DEALING WITH EGYPT AND SYRIA NOW IS BASED ON SOMETHING MORE THAN A PERCEPTION THAT HUSSEIN CAN DO NOTHING ON THE WEST BANK. THAT HUSSEIN CAN DO NOTHING HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT SPURIOUS, BUT TIME-HONORED ISRAELI ARGUMENT FOR PROCEEDING IN WAYS WHICH PRESERVE WEST BANK FROM BECOMING AN OBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. IN VIEW OF UNCERTAINTY WHICH REPORT RAISES ABOUT HUSSEIN'S POSITION AND MY OWN CONVICTION ABOUT HIS APPROACH, I WILL ATTEMPT ON HIS RETURN FROM PARIS AND AFTER 'ID HOLIDAY TO REVIEW WITH HIM CERTAIN OF THESE POINTS WITHOUT IN ANY WAY POINTING TO OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS. CERTAINLY THIS SHOULD PROVIDE SOME ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND FOR DAYAN'S WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS.

6. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO TEL AVIV

AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY.

PICKERING

UNQUOTE VANCE

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